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THE RUTHENIAN QUESTION IN GALICIA



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THE RUTHENIAN QUESTION IN GALICIA

UNITY OF GALICIA

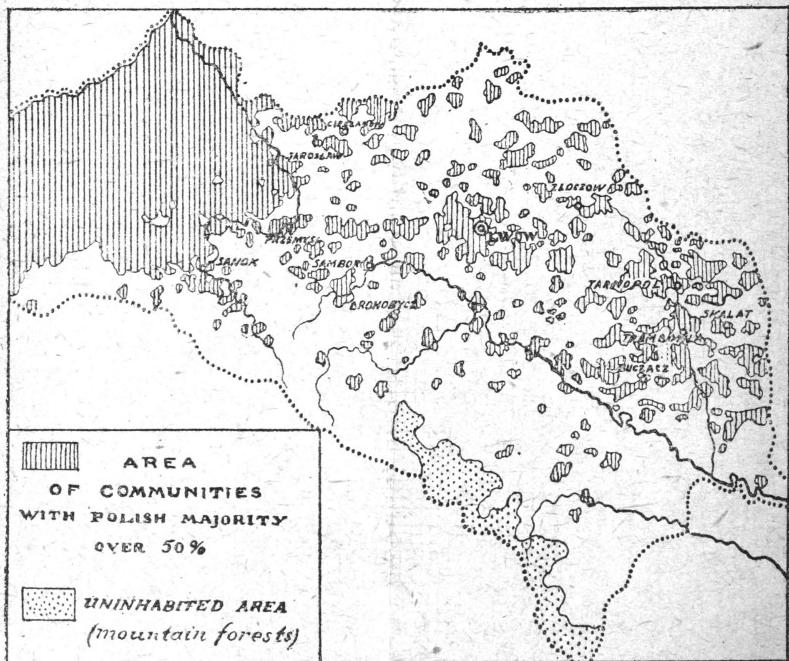
Galicia is the name given since 1772 to an arbitrarily delimited area, which at that date was taken by Austria from the Polish Republic. It included parts of the palatinates of Cracow, Sandomierz, Red Ruthenia, Bełz and Podolia. The unity of Galicia has been maintained by the Austrian Government, and never has Galicia been administratively divided into an eastern and a western part. Even when, for a short time, in 1850-60, and in 1863-67, there existed in Cracow a special government commission for Western Galicia, it was subordinated to the central government in Lwów. The Austrian Constitution of 1849, the provincial ordinance of 1850, the Galician statute of 1861, and finally the Constitution of 1867, consider Galicia as one indivisible whole, being one of the countries belonging to the Austrian dynasty.

NO ETHNOGRAPHIC DELIMITATION POSSIBLE

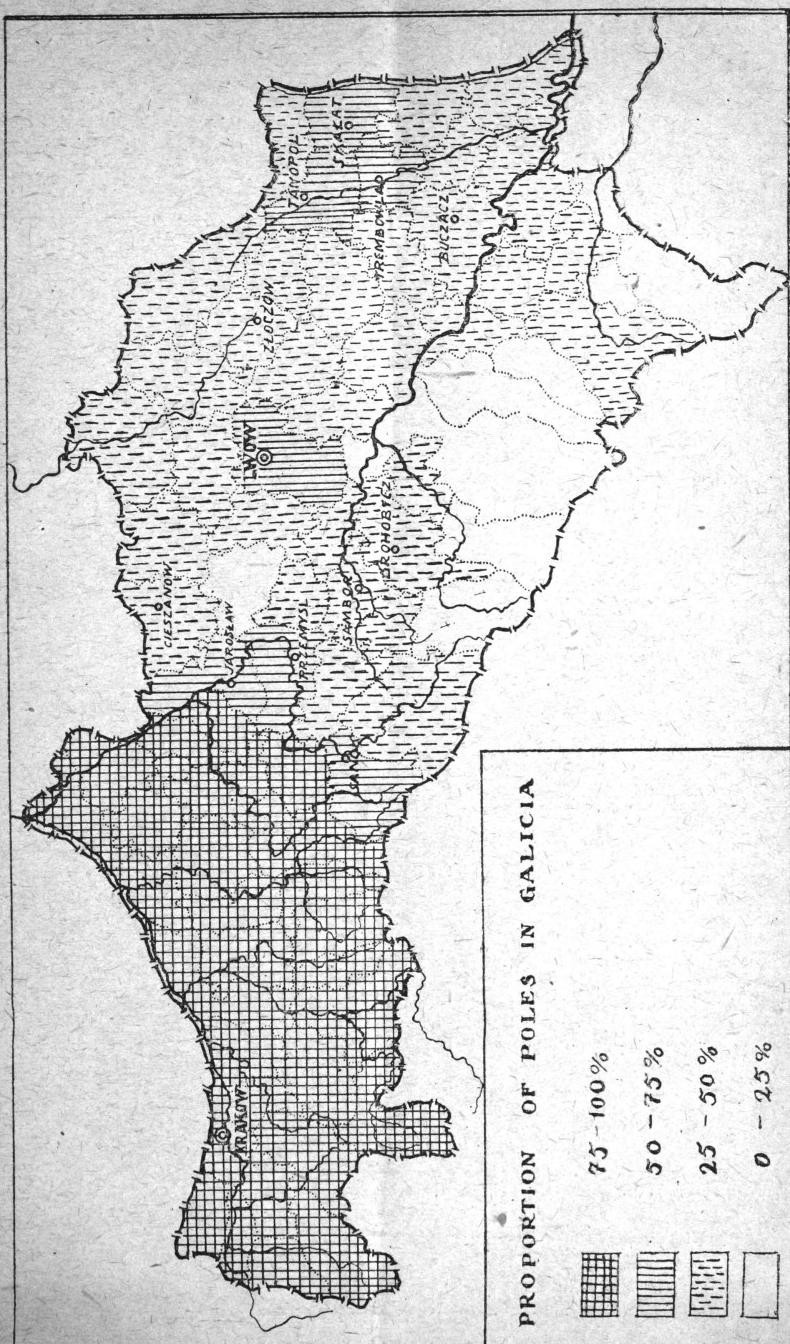
An ethnographic division of Galicia between the Poles and Ruthenians is impossible, as no part of Galicia is purely Ruthenian, while the western part is purely Polish; the Poles in Western Galicia are 96 % of the population, while the Ruthenians in Eastern Galicia are only 59 % of the population. The numerical strength of the Poles in Eastern Galicia can be seen from the fact that out of 3,757 communities in Eastern Galicia there are 890 communities with over 50 % of Poles. Districts with a decisive majority of the Ruthenian popu-

lation (above 75%) are very few and surrounded by districts with a considerable proportion of Poles, as may be seen from the map on p. 12.

Out of 83 districts in the whole of Galicia there are only ten with less than 25 % Poles, no district with less than 12 %, and in Eastern Galicia alone there are seven districts with more than 50 % Poles (Sanok, Przemyśl, Jarosław, Lwów, Tarnopol, Skałat, Trembowla). These Polish majorities are scattered over the whole of Eastern Galicia, forming 170 enclaves, among which 19 have more than 100 square kilometres each. The chief Polish centres are around Cieszanów, Przemyśl, Sambor and Drohobycz, Lwów and Złoczów, Tarnopol and Buczacz, and a glance at the map below will show that some of the largest Polish enclaves are far away from the purely Polish territory. Poles are



also numerous in Podolia and Volhynia beyond the artificial frontier of Galicia, and there is no such clean delimitation between a Ruthenian and a Polish territory, as between Wallons and Flamands in Bel-



gium, or the French and German speaking population in Switzerland.

THE POLES AUTOCHTONOUS IN GALICIA

In Eastern Galicia, Poles and Ruthenians have lived together since the oldest times, as can be seen from the fact that out of a total of 300 Roman and Greek parishes existing in the XVIIIth. century, not less than 123 Roman Catholic parishes were already founded in the XIVth. and XVth. centuries.

RED RUTHENIA AND POLAND

Red Ruthenia, which is the historical name of the greater part of Eastern Galicia, already belonged to Poland in the Xth. century, and within the last ten centuries, belonged only for 75 years to the Russian Princes of Kieff, 981-1018 and 1031-1069. After the rule of the local princes of Halicz in the XIIth. and XIIIth. centuries, in 1340 this country was inherited by the Polish King, Casimir the Great, and has remained since that time an integral part of Poland. The Ruthenians suffered no oppression, and their ethnographic area has not decreased under Polish rule, while the Poles under German rule in Silesia have lost 20.000 square kilometres during the same six centuries. The Polish population in Eastern Galicia is by no means confined to the cities and to the large estates which are predominantly Polish. There are, in Eastern Galicia, besides 3.000 large estates owned by Poles, about 100.000 small land holdings scattered all over the country, and producing everywhere a larger crop from the same area than that of their Ruthenian neighbours, to whom they show the example of efficient agricultural work.

RUTHENIANS AND POLES

The good understanding between Poles and Ruthenians may be seen from the fact that in 1910 there were in Galicia

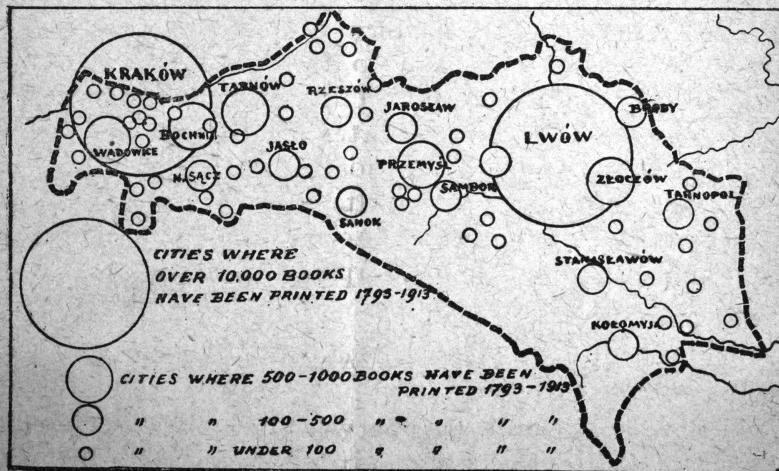
235.000 Poles of the Greek rite and 43.000 Ruthenians belonging to the Roman Catholic Church. In 18 districts the Poles had more Polish schools than corresponded to their number, but in 41 districts the Ruthenians had a similar privilege. The number of mixed marriages exceeded 30 % in forty two districts, and was between 15 and 30 % in ten districts only, nowhere being less than 15 %, and in many districts more than 38 % (for instance, Przemyślany, Złoczów, Brody, Kamionka, Sokal).

NOT THE CASE IN PRUSSIA

If we take into consideration that in East Prussia and Posnania such marriages between Poles and Germans do not exceed 1,5 %, we must infer that in general there have been friendly relations between Poles and Ruthenians in Eastern Galicia. No other possible interpretation can explain such a constantly high rate of marriages between Poles and Ruthenians, which make one third of the population of mixed origin.

POLISH PUBLICATIONS IN RED RUTHENIA

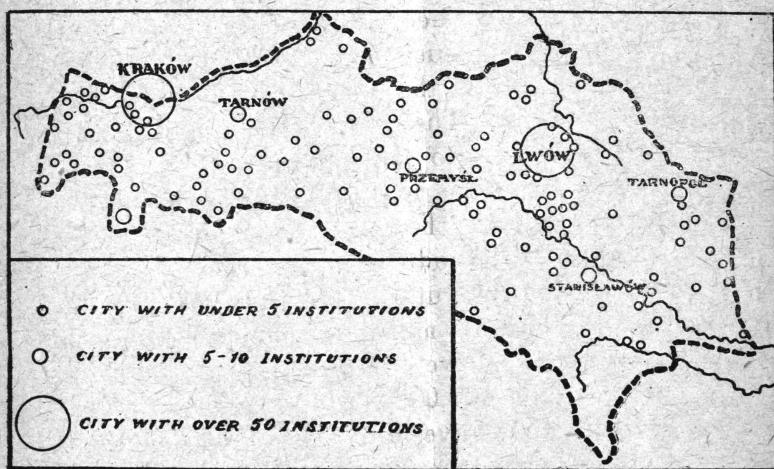
THE BOOKS PRINTED IN POLISH



Eastern Galicia is in many respects a completely Polish country. It contains more than two million Poles, while in Western Galicia there are slightly over two and a half million Poles. In 20 places of Eastern Galicia, 241 Polish periodicals were published in 1913, while in Western Galicia only 129 Polish periodicals were published in 17 places. Polish books are published in 34 places in Eastern Galicia, and only in 39 places in Western Galicia. Between 1794 and 1913, 20,000 Polish books were published in Eastern Galicia against 34,000 in Western Galicia (see map on p. 7.)

PREDOMINANCE OF POLISH EDUCATION

COLLECTIONS, MUSEUMS, LIBRARIES IN GALICIA



If the national character of a country is determined by the number of adults who can read and write, Eastern Galicia is nationally Polish, as it counts 800,000 Poles who read and write, as against only 611,610 Ruthenians who read and write. The Polish character of Eastern Galicia is still further illustrated by the fact that among those who are engaged in trade, industry and liberal professions, there are in Eastern Galicia 398,000 Poles, as against only 188,000 Ruthenians, and it is evident that

those who are engaged in such professions, have a greater influence on the national character of the country than the peasants who rarely leave their villages. It is scarcely necessary to explain to British readers, how even a small minority of a higher standard of intellectual and moral power can dominate a large country. In Eastern Galicia the Poles are not a small minority, but a decisive majority in all trades and professions and an important minority among the agricultural population.

POLES AND RUTHENIANS DIFFER

Poles and Ruthenians, though living together under the same Government for more than 1,000 years, though enjoying the same laws and the same opportunities in every respect, though frequently intermarrying, remain still very different as to the intensity of their social energy and education. They have the same number of schools in proportion to the population, about one school to 1,500 Poles or as many Ruthenians. But in Eastern Galicia, for each thousand Poles, 181 children go to school, and only 263 adults neither read nor write, while for each thousand Ruthenians, only 139 children go to school and 620 adults neither read nor write. The disproportion increases if we compare the higher stages of education. Among 100,000 Poles there are 640 in high schools, and 175 have university training. For the same number of Ruthenians we find only 230 in high schools and 43 in universities. Thus we see that the Poles use the opportunity of elementary education much more than the Ruthenians; they are thrice as numerous in the high schools, and more than four times more numerous than the Ruthenians in the highest schools. In 1913 there were in Galicia 370 Polish periodical publications, as against only 56 Ruthenian periodicals, though Polish papers were printed for Galicia also outside Galicia, while Ruthenian publications could be issued nowhere else, as the Russian Government forbade them in Russia.

SUPERIOR SOCIAL ENERGY OF THE POLES

In everything we notice the same superiority of the Poles. We find 5 times more Poles than Ruthenians in industry, 7 times more Poles than Ruthenians in trade and liberal vocations, 12 times more Poles than Ruthenians in the mining and chemical industry, and 16 times more Poles than Ruthenians in the publishing trade. In Eastern Galicia only 44 % of the Poles and 91 % of the Ruthenians are engaged in agriculture. In Lwów, for each 100 independent workers we find 75 Poles, and only 10 Ruthenians in industry, trade and liberal professions. We notice the superiority of the Poles over the Ruthenians even in agriculture, though the Ruthenians are more specially devoted to agriculture than the Poles.

INCREASED CROPS WHERE POLES PREVAIL

To every increase in the population of Roman Catholics in a district, corresponds a considerably higher total efficiency in agricultural work. Where the Roman Catholics are 15 % of the population, only 40 % of the total area is cultivated and produces 150 kg. of grain per inhabitant. But where 30 % of the population are Roman Catholics, there 58 % of the total area is cultivated, and yields a crop of 230 kg. per inhabitant. With 45 % of Roman Catholics we reach 67 % of the area under cultivation, and 270 kg. of grain to each inhabitant.

THRIFT OF THE POLES

We see how these two populations living on the same soil differ also if we compare their savings. Every Pole had an average of 47 Kronen deposited, and every Ruthenian only 12 Kronen. In two chief Polish institutions of credit, when the number of members increased 25 times, the total amount deposited increased twice

as much. That means that with the increasing number of members, the average amount of deposits also was doubled. Quite the contrary happened in Ruthenian institutions; when the number of members increased 25 times, the total amount of deposits increased only 8 times. This means that the increased number of members was obtained by a purely political propaganda, encouraging very small nominal deposits of the new members. There was, therefore, no real acceptance of the principle of saving, only the use of insignificantly small deposits as a political weapon, whereby the average amount of every deposit was reduced to one third of the average deposited by the original members, who seriously wanted to save, and not merely to manifest their membership of a Ruthenian institution.

TAXES PAID CHIEFLY BY POLES

This explains why the Ruthenians in Eastern Galicia, being more numerous than the Poles, contribute only 26 % of the total amount of direct taxes, while the Poles supply 74 % of this total amount. In cities and on large estates this proportion is even more striking, as the Poles furnish 95 % of all the taxes, the Ruthenians only 5 %. Even the State income from small estates, which are owned chiefly by the Ruthenians, comes to the extent of 42 % from the Poles.

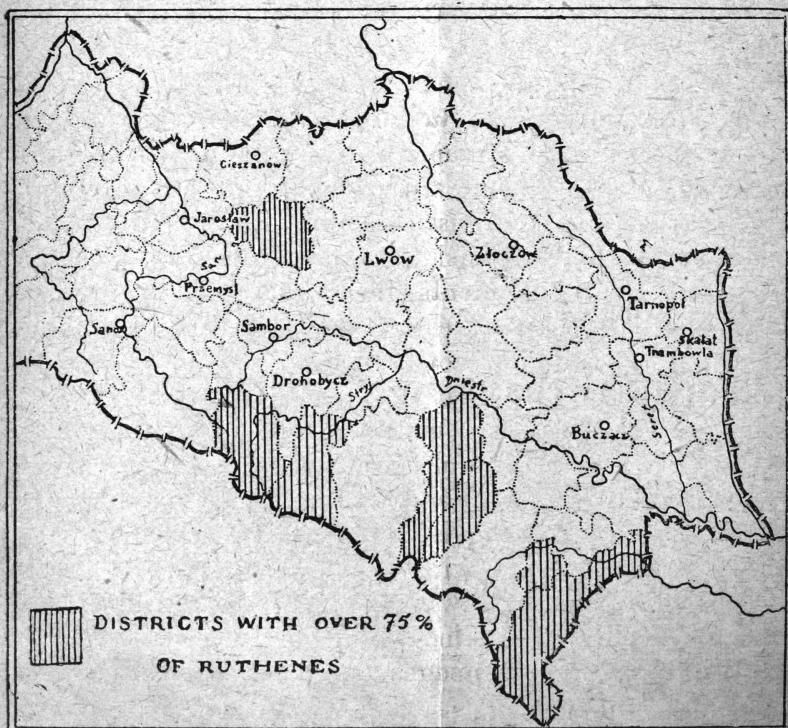
POLISH CHARACTER OF THE OIL INDUSTRY

The most astonishing example of the great difference between the Poles and the Ruthenians as regards capacity for productive work is furnished by the Galician oil mines. These important centres of industrial production are situated in Eastern Galicia, and nobody has ever prevented the Ruthenians from an active participation in the working of the oil mines. But the Ruthenians are only 1 % of the ordinary workingmen in the

Galician oil industry, and there is less than 1 % of Ruthenians among the engineers and in the administration of the works, though the Galician oil industry is by no means chiefly in Polish hands, as there is a great deal of foreign capital engaged, so that there can be no question of Polish exclusivism. The owners would prefer Ruthenian labour, which is cheaper, but they avail themselves almost exclusively of Polish labour in order to run the works, as the Ruthenians dislike any more complicated occupation, and prefer lower wages for the simplest work.

FOREIGN POPULATION IN EASTERN GALICIA

Eastern Galicia has a mixed population, not only because it is inhabited by many Poles. Of the total number of foreigners living in Galicia, 70 % live in Eastern



Galicia, and only 30 % in Western Galicia. Of the Jews of Galicia, 76 % live in Eastern Galicia, and only 24 % in Western Galicia. We cannot therefore consider Eastern Galicia as a Ruthenian country, and there are only very few districts where the Ruthenian majority exceeds 75 %.

GERMAN INFLUENCE ON RUTHENIANS

The Ruthenians in Eastern Galicia are only 59 %, and in the whole of Galicia, 40 %. They have never pretended to a separate political existence during all the centuries of their intimate relations with the Poles who inhabit the same country, until quite recently, when the Rutheno-Ukrainian movement was started, like Bolshevism, by means of German money and under German influence.

DISCOVERY OF GERMAN INTRIGUE

It has been uniquely the interest of Germany to weaken Poland by creating a Ruthenian question in Galicia. The extent of this German intrigue was fully revealed in 1918, when the Polish troops took Lwów from the Ruthenian army organised by German officers, but already in 1913 the Polish publicist Krysiak published 97 letters and documents from the secret archives of the German Ostmarkenverein, and the authenticity of these documents has not been denied by their owners—who only complained that they were stolen. The revelations of Krysiak were discussed in the two German parliaments of Vienna and Berlin, and they have shown that the Rutheno-Ukrainian propaganda in Eastern Galicia, just like the Bolshevik propaganda in Russia, was started and continued with German money, and under German protection. It was in both cases the work of a small gang of unscrupulous ambitious politicians who used the passivity of uneducated masses for their own aims.

AUSTRIA AND THE RUTHENO-UKRAINIANS

About 1890 the Rutheno-Ukrainian party was created in Galicia by some politicians who wanted to use the ethnographic affinity between the Galician Ruthenians and the Little Russians of the province of Kiew as a weapon against Russia. They created a chair of Ruthenian history at the Polish University of Lwów, and began to teach the national unity of a new so called Ukrainian nation which had never before been heard of in history. Ukraine is the Polish name for borderland, and originally it was applied to the province of Kiew, and to the region south of Kiew which was the borderland of the Polish Republic, frequently threatened by Tartar invasions. The people of Ukraine were usually called Ruthenians, as distinct from the White Ruthenians who dwelt farther north beyond the marshes of Polesie. The Germanophile Austrian politicians who started, about thirty years ago, the Ruthen-Ukrainian movement, dreamt of winning for Austria the whole of Little Russia, which extends far beyond Kiew to Charków, Połtawa and Odessa, and is inhabited by a very primitive peasant population, which has never been in close relationship with the Galician Ruthenians but speaks a language similar to them.

RED RUTHENIA AND LITTLE RUSSIA

The three million Ruthenians of Galicia are Greek Catholics or Uniates recognising the authority of the Pope, while among the thirty million Little Ruthenians the Union with Rome has been abolished since 1839. Their language, though of the same origin, is by no means the same, and their history was totally different until the XIV century and since the XVIII century. Even under Polish rule from the XIV to the XVIII century, these two provinces were throughout the time of their belonging to Poland under separate administration as forming part of different palatinates.

RUTHENO-UKRAINIANS AND BOLSHEVISTS

The Rutheno-Ukrainian party was formed, like the Bolshevik party, not for any advantage of the people, but uniquely for the advantage of its leaders, who used falsehoods and lies to a great extent in both cases in order to gain the support of uneducated people. The uneducated peasant was assured by the Ruthenô-Ukrainians, as well as by the Bolsheviks in Russia, that he would become rich without toil, and that all the large estates would be divided among the Ruthenians, to the exclusion of the Poles, who were to be exterminated or exiled. Such promises created an artificial pseudo-national movement, which was nothing but a social upheaval of the unproductive lower classes against the successful and productive classes of the country. Such movements are possible for a short time in any country, and they have been known in France as *Jacqueries*. If they are not suppressed by force, they lead to the destruction of all accumulated wealth, as in Russia, but never to a real improvement of the condition of the lower classes which have generally to pay dearly for the credulity and greed which makes them follow unscrupulous leaders.

PANGERMANISTS AND RUTHENO-UKRAINIANS

We learn from the secret documents published by Krysiak that on the 27 th of July 1903, Hanyckij, as a delegate of the Ruthenian National Committee, visited the famous leader of the Ostmarken-Verein Tiedemann in Jeziorki in Posnania, and since that time such visits have been frequent, and the Rutheno-Ukrainian propaganda has received considerable funds from Germany. When the war broke out the Rutheno-Ukrainians had constant close relations with the Germans in Vienna and Berlin. Wasilko, Lewickyj, Baczyński, Hankewycz, Archbishop Szeptycki on the Ruthenian side, and Sturgh, Prinz

Hohenlohe, Zimmermann, Schulze, Burian, Erzherzog Wilhelm, Erzherzog Friedrich on the German side, appear successively as the chief actors in the long German intrigue, which led finally, in October 1918, to the concentration of Ruthenian regiments in Eastern Galicia and to the official submission of these troops to the Ruthenian National Committee, which began on November 1st. 1918 its despotic rule in Eastern Galicia.

RESPONSIBILITY OF AUSTRIA

The full responsibility for these events must be attributed to the Austrian Government which had already organised a Polish *Jacquerie* in 1846, when secret agents of the Austrian Government encouraged the uneducated peasants to kill many owners of large estates and to destroy their property. The same method was applied on a larger scale in 1918, and two high personalities are prominent in this unclean undertaking : Erzherzog Wilhelm, the candidate to the Ukrainian throne after the desintegration of Austria, and the Ruthenian archbishop Szeptycki, a Pole by birth, who hoped to become the Ukrainian metropolitan, spiritual chief of the new Rutheno-Ukrainian nation.

AN ARCHBISHOP AND AN ERZHERZOG

Letters of both these ambitious man were found by the Poles in the military archives in Lwów in November 1918, when the Polish army took Lwów from the Ruthenians after three weeks of their illegitimate and arbitrary rule. Facsimiles of some of these letters have been published (1), quite sufficient to prove the criminal guilt of these two ambitious adventurers of high birth, who had dared to utilise the lowest instincts of uneducated peasants, in order to win a throne for one and a metropolitan seat for the other. They were helped

(1) Documents Ruthéno-Ukrainiens, Paris, Bureau Polonais de publications politiques, Mai 1919.

y other adventurers who only wanted an opportunity for pillage and blood-thirsty cruelty; happily the devilish scheme was defeated by the Polish victory in May 1919, after six months of the most arbitrary rule of the Rutheno-Ukrainians, with the participation of many Austrian and German officers.

GENERAL PFEFFER AND HIS DIARY

The Austrian authorities in Eastern Galicia, according to orders received from Vienna, surrendered all military stores to the Ruthenian National Committee, on Oct. 31, 1918 and General Pfeffer, the military governor of Lemberg, on Nov. 3, asked his subordinate German officers to join the Ukrainian army. When the Poles approached, General Pfeffer did not remain with the Ukrainians, but started for Vienna and was arrested by the Poles, who captured his interesting diary about the Ukrainian atrocities. These atrocities were testified to by many witnesses after the defeat of the Rutheno-Ukrainian army.

RUTHENIAN ATROCITIES

Let us quote some particular cases taken from the judicial records of the Polish government :

1. On Nov. 5, about noon, a boy aged 14 was wearing a Polish eagle on his dress. He was met by three Ruthenian soldiers who asked him to kneel down in the street and then killed him. Three witnesses have testified to this. Similar cases were frequent in Lemberg during the three weeks of Ruthenian rule.
2. Another boy found an old rusty revolver in the street and played with this weapon with other children. One of the children reported this to a Ruthenian patrol. Three Ruthenian soldiers went to the boy's home, and having found the revolver, took him and killed him without judgment in the street in the absence of the boy's mother, a widow.
3. On Nov. 14, Ukrainian soldiers found seven sleep-

ing Polish soldiers in the library of Zamarstynów near Lemberg, two of them aged 14 and 17 respectively. They put out their eyes, tortured them and killed them. Similar cases were very frequent.

4. A Polish soldier was arrested on Dec. 12, 1918 by the Ukrainians. They tied him naked to a telegraph stake and cut his skin with swords, tearing the skin from him until he died. This was done by six peasants in presence of Ukrainian officers. An official of Komarno who remonstrated with them and attempted to save the Polish soldier, was hanged.

5. Several Red Cross nurses were arrested in Zamarstynów. They were cruelly beaten, the Red Cross signs were torn from them, and they were threatened with death. Such cases were very frequent. The Ukrainian soldiers say that it would be best to exterminate all the nurses.

6. The Ukrainians have cut off the fingers of their prisoners, and tortured them in different ways on many occasions.

RUTHENIANS AND THE GERMANS

The evidence of such atrocities fills volumes, and the Ruthenians who have always been well treated by the Poles, show in their cruelty the same German influence which led the Bolsheviks to extreme frightfulness. Whenever a small minority wants, for some purpose or other, to dominate a peaceful population, such methods become inevitable. It is easy to awake envy and hate in uneducated peasants, who consider themselves wronged only because they are unable to produce as much as their neighbours.

The Rutheno-Ukrainian movement has not the character of a national struggle for independence, but is merely an outbreak of class hatred, artfully organised by the Germans in order to weaken the Polish Republic, because the mere existence of the Polish State puts a limit to the expansion of Prussianism.

CONSPIRATION AGAINST POLAND

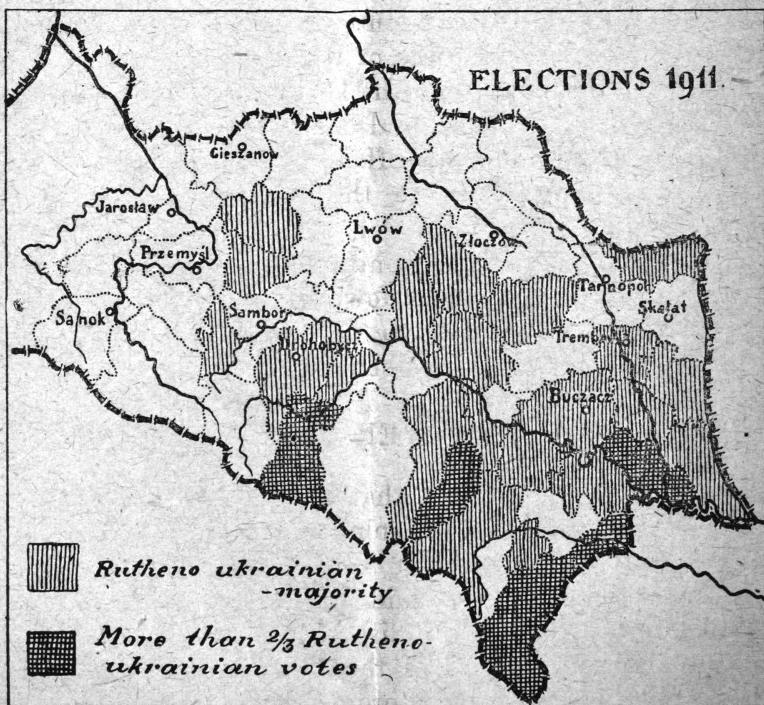
A Polish State could not be strong without Red Ruthenia or Eastern Galicia. The Germans have therefore availed themselves of the social difference which exists between Poles and Ruthenians in Eastern Galicia and have preached among the Ruthenians a war of extermination against the Poles, promising them great spoils if they get rid of the entire upper classes which are chiefly Polish and of the Polish peasants who in Eastern Galicia are generally better off than the Ruthenians. The Rutheno-Ukrainian movement is nothing else than a variety of Bolshevism. We see among the Rutheno-Ukrainians the same contempt for international law, and for justice, as among the Bolsheviks. The victory of the Rutheno-Ukrainians would mean the destruction of all civilisation in a country in which the Poles have been for centuries the bearers of civilisation.

THE PEOPLE IN UKRAINE

But the masses of the people in Ukraine are indifferent to the ambitions of their pretended leaders. The Rutheno-Ukrainian Government in Kieff had no support from the people, and was kept up only under foreign protection. In January 1918 the independence of Ukraine was proclaimed and delegates of the new Ukrainian Government of Petlura took part in the peace of Brześć Litewski. In February the Bolsheviks took Kieff, and soon afterwards the Germans reinstated the Rutheno-Ukrainian government. But after a few months trial, even the Germans had had enough of Ukrainian misrule, and in May 1918 they dismissed the Ukrainians and nominated Skoropadsky. When the Germans were beaten in the West, Skoropadsky lost his power, and again in December 1918, for a short time the Ukrainians began to rule in Kieff, but they were again expelled by the Bolsheviks in February 1919. If the Rutheno-Ukrainians had had the support of the Ruthenian population in Ukraine, they could not have been so easily overcome by the Bolsheviks, nor set aside by the Germans.

ELECTIONS OF 1911

The truth is that the Ruthenians of Ukraine look upon the Rutheno-Ukrainian gang with the same indifference as they looked upon the Tsarist government, both being similar in so far as they represent the despotic and arbitrary rule of a small party of ringleaders over the uneducated masses. There is scarcely any difference between the Rutheno-Ukrainians and the Bolsheviks, and there was more respect for law and property under the Tsar. The Rutheno-Ukrainians after thirty years free agitation in Eastern Galicia, helped by the German and the Austrian governments, have not succeeded in winning for them the majority of the inhabitants as the results of the elections in 1911 show. The Rutheno-Ukrainians had 44,7% of the votes, the



old Ruthenians who are against Ukrainian separatism had 14,4 % of the votes, the Poles 38,2 % and the Sionists 2,7 %. If such results have been obtained under Austrian government, we may be sure that as soon as the Ruthenian population is really free to express its genuine opinion, it will condemn the unscrupulous gang which has shown, during its short rule, what kind of government it meant to establish.

RUTHENO-UKRAINIAN AVOWALS

The Rutheno-Ukrainians themselves have publicly avowed that they have enjoyed more political liberty in Galicia under Polish rule than in Russia. Their deputy Gehelski says in a German pamphlet published in Vienna in 1915 :

« With her high schools and elementary schools, her national Church, her Ukrainian press, her theatres, her museums, her economical and political organisations, Galicia has become a Piedmont for the whole of Ukraine which groans under the yoke of Russia. »

The same confession [that the Ruthenians had nowhere more liberty for their national development than under Polish rule, is found in an official proclamation of the Rutheno-Ukrainian army to the peasants of Ukraine in the spring of 1919 :

« The Polish landlords continued their domination over the people in Galicia. However, we had there more liberty than in Tsarist Russia. Our people could learn the national language in the schools. »

POLISH INFLUENCE OVER THE RUTHENIANS

This is a historical truth that the Poles themselves have helped towards an awakening of Ruthenian national feelings. And they mean to remain faithful to their old traditions of liberty and tolerance, because on the 23rd. of May 1919, the Polish Diet in Warsaw, immediately after the victories of the Polish army over the Rutheno-Ukrainians, voted a proposal asking the Government to prepare without delay a statute of autonomy

for Eastern Galicia, which would secure « absolute political liberty and full opportunities for economical, intellectual and national development for the Ruthenians and Poles of this country. »

POLAND AND GREAT BRITAIN

This is the same policy as Great Britain has applied to the Transvaal, and it will to an even greater extent have similar results, since there has never been on the side of the Poles a military invasion of the Ruthenian territory like the raid of Jameson in 1896, nor a numerous and recent immigration of Poles into Ruthenian territory. The Poles in Eastern Galicia are, according to Ruthenian historians themselves, older than the Ruthenians, because many names of Ruthenian villages are of Polish origin, and many peasants who now consider themselves Ruthenians, bear Polish names. The Poles increase in numbers in Eastern Galicia chiefly because they emigrate less. From 1900 to 1910 no less than 231.900 Ruthenians left the country, and only 163.700 Poles. This refers to the whole of Galicia, where the Polish population exceeds the Ruthenian population by nearly 50 %.

INCREASE OF THE NUMBER OF POLES

This numerical superiority of the Poles over the Ruthenians has steadily increased in Galicia for the last hundred years, as can be seen from the fact that the average annual increase of the population in Eastern Galicia was from 1810 to 1900, 1,16 % among the Greek Catholics and 1,59 % among the Roman Catholics. From 1900 to 1910 it was only 0,89 % among the Greek Catholics, and increased to 1,93 % among the Roman Catholics. If this process continues, the results are easy to foresee, and the Rutheno-Ukrainian rebellion of 1919 will remain only such a lesson of history as has been the famous French *Jacquerie* of 1357 which did not lead to the creation of a Picardian State, or the Anabaptist revolt in Munster in 1535.

REMEDY FOR SOCIAL ANARCHY

Such movements are different manifestations of the same spirit of social anarchy which ruined Russia under the Jewish Bolshevik rule. Political liberty and a higher level of popular education will render such outbreaks of wild destructive rage almost impossible, and it would be a very serious mistake to look upon the Rutheno-Ukrainian rebellion as a spontaneous national movement, because it is simply one of the numerous instances of the perversity with which the Germans have attempted to create social unrest everywhere among their adversaries, from South Africa to Ireland, as well as in Lithuania, in Ukraine and in the United States of America.

(The above report has been written by W. Lutosławski, as a summary of papers, written by prof. St. Stroński and E. Romer.)

STATISTICAL ABSTRACT

POPULATION

The total population of Galicia was in 1910 : 8.026.000.
Of this total the Poles formed 59 %; the Ruthenians 40 % ; and others 1 %.

In 26 out of 83 districts over 90 % are Poles.

In 10 out of 83 districts less than 25 % are Poles. Minimum 12 %.

Under Austrian rule Galicia was *never divided*. The division of Galicia in a western and an eastern part has existed only in the judicial organization.

The eastern part of Galicia has a *Ruthenian majority*, (Poles 40 % Ruthenians 59 %) but in 20 out of 117 judiciary districts over 50 % of the population is Polish and only in 30 out of 117 judiciary districts are there less than 25 % of Poles.

Number of communities in the eastern part of Galicia with...

over 75 %	over 50 %	25-50 %	below 25 % of Poles
478	890	725	2.142

Against 100 entirely Ruthenian communities in eastern Galicia, having less than 25 % of Poles, there are 22 entirely (with over 75% of Poles) and 41 predominantly (with over 50 % of Poles) Polish communities.

The *largest area of Polish majorities* (agglomeration of

communities with Polish majorities) in eastern Galicia is to be found around Sanok, Cieszanow, Lemberg, and in the most eastern part of this country, where a group of Polish agglomerations extends over 6.000 sq. km.

The *Polish population* in the eastern part of Galicia is an *autochtonous* one. Roman-catholic parishes have been founded

	in the XIV-th XV-th XVI-th XVII-th XVIII-th century				
Number of parishes..	36	87	67	70	55

In the middle of the XIV century the eastern part of Galicia came under Polish rule, and in the same time Silesia came under the political and cultural influence of the Germans. The difference between the conditions in both cases can be seen from the fact that in *Silesia the Polish ethnographic territory has lost about 30.000 sq. km. under German rule, while the Ruthenians under Polish rule have, on the contrary, lost nothing.*

The great tolerance of the former Polish government and of Polish society can be seen also from the good mutual understanding between the Poles and Ruthenians in Galicia.

There are 235.000 *Poles of Greek rite*, and there are 43.000 *Ruthenians of Roman rite*.

Mixed marriages between Poles and Ruthenians are in proportion of 159 to 384 per thousand, according to the districts. The *ethnographic limit crosses in eastern Galicia every third family*.

The Polish and Ruthenian languages have in districts with mixed population in Galicia the same rights.

There is : 1 *Polish public school* in Galicia for every 1.500 Poles.

1 *Ruthenian public school* in Galicia for every 1.560 Ruthenians.

What concerns the participation of the Ruthenians in the Diet (Landtag of Galicia), they could have their

representatives in the farmer-class only, because very few paid taxes in the great proprietors class, and in the urban class (below 5 %), but they had 20 representatives of the farmer class, or 37 % of the *deputies of this class, which corresponds exactly to the proportion of the taxes paid by the Ruthenian farmers* (39 %).

An electoral reform for the Galician Diet was taken into consideration before the war and the universal suffrage to the Austrian Parliament was in use since 1907.

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ELECTORAL STATISTICS

The results of the official census of nationalities in Galicia were confirmed by the results of elections to the Austrian parliament in 1907 and 1911.

The general figures of these elections are as follows :

Number of votes	Polish	Ukrainians	Old-Ruthenians*	Sionists
1907.....	617.544	403.539	152.395	24.757
1911.....	639.208	362.961	127.108	23.202

In the second election only the number of Polish votes was increasing, while the number of all other votes was decreasing.

The Ruthenian votes were always divided between Ukrainians and Old Ruthenians and the proportion of both parties remained unchanged.

The Sionists had only one fourth of the Jewish votes.

The figures (1911) for the electoral districts of eastern Galicia are as follows :

Number of votes	Polish	Ukrainians	Old-Ruthenians	Sionists
	310.239	362.555	116.637	21.661
or	38,2 %	44,7 %	14,4 %	2,7 %

* Old Ruthenians oppose the formation of a separate Ukrainian State.

The percentages of Polish votes given above form a striking confirmation of the figures of the official census.

Concerning the Ukrainian and Old-Ruthenian votes it is interesting to state, that the number of Old-Ruthenian votes prevails over the number of Ukrainian votes in 12 political districts, while in 4 other districts it is equal to the latter. Taking into consideration the national character of the Old-Ruthenian and of the Ukrainian movements, we see two conflicting national movements in an ethnographically uniform population, though hardly developed nationally.

It ought to be finally stated, that the polonization of the Jews in Galicia is not only proved by the weakness of the sionist-movement, but also by the steady growth of the number of Jews, professing to be Poles.

For each 1.000 Jews there were avowed Poles :

in 1800.....	604
1890.....	746
1900.....	765
1910.....	925

The powerful development of the Polish population in Eastern Galicia is, on the contrary, due not only to the fact of the polonization of the Jews, but also to a very healthy development of the Roman Catholics in this country.

General increase 1857-1910 of Greek-Catholics in eastern Galicia 63%.

General increase 1857-1910 of Roman-Catholics in eastern Galicia 108%.

This increase is due in the smallest degree to the immigration of Poles from the western to the eastern part of Galicia (in 1900-1910 not more than 3.500 yearly), but to the greater emigration abroad of the Ruthenians as compared with that of the Poles (1900-1910 : 231.000, as against 163.700) and to the assimilation and conversion of the Ruthenians, easily explained by the good relations

between both peoples and by the much higher civilization of the Poles.

* * *

CIVILIZATION OF THE POLES AND RUTHENIANS

Out of 1.000 working Ruthenians in the whole of Galicia 912 are engaged in agriculture, 88 in other professions.

Out of 1.000 working Poles in the whole of Galicia 601 are engaged in agriculture, 399 in other professions.

This great difference in the economic and social structure between the Poles and Ruthenians in general becomes even more prominent, if we compare the Poles and Ruthenians engaged in agriculture and other occupations in Eastern Galicia.

The following figures show the Roman — and Greek-Catholic population of the eastern part of Galicia.

Out of 100 workers there are engaged	in agriculture	industry, commerce	intellectual work
Poles	44	39	17
Ruthenians.....	91	7	1

In absolute figures

Poles	314.000*	272.000	126.000
Ruthenians.....	1.810.000	156.000	32.000

* These figures correspond to about 100.000 independent agricultural workers, and, as the number of great Polish proprietors in eastern Galicia does not exceed 3.000, it is clear that there are in Eastern Galicia about 100.000 Polish small farmers.

* * *

To the primitive social structure of the Ruthenians, corresponds also the primitivity of their work.

% of Roman-catholics in the district	% of the farmland	Production in quintals		Amount of grain (wheat and rye) in kgr. per inhabi- tant	
		wheat	rye	wheat	rye
15	40	10,0	10,4	150	
30	58	11,8	12,0	230	
45	67	13,5	13,9	270	

The following figures show the participation of the Ruthenians in *direct taxes* :

Out of 100 Kronen taxes in Eastern Galicia, the Poles paid 74, the Ruthenians 26.

* * *

The passivity in the character of the Ruthenians explains all these phenomena. The number of *people occupied in agriculture* between 1900-1910 diminished among all nationalities, even among the most developed ones. The Austrian statistics give a good instance :

For 1.000	In agriculture were occupied						
	Germans	Tcheques	Italiaus	Poles	Slovens	Serbs	Ruthenians
1900....	335	431	501	655	754	869	933
1910....	300	385	475	601	676	844	912

Among 1.000 workers there were, according to Austrian statistics for several nations, an average of 330-350 independent workers. The other workers consisted of several kinds of qualified workmen and journeymen or of family helpers.

To the class of family helpers belong, on an average

for Austria, 260 for every 1.000 workers, and in particular among the Poles 391, among the Ruthenians 585.

In spite of the *equal distribution of primary schools* among the Poles and the Ruthenians in Galicia, there are 139 *school children* for every 1.000 Ruthenians and 181 for every 1.000 Poles; *unable to read and write* are 620 out of 1.000 Ruthenians and 263 out of 1.000 Poles. There are 465 Polish *periodical papers* published in Galicia, and 745 in other parts of Poland and abroad (1914), and only 56 Ruthenian periodicals printed in Galicia, and almost none elsewhere (1913).

A special kind of apparent progress is shown by the Ruthenian *societies of mutual credit*. The number of members belonging to these societies increased during a given period 25 times, while the sum of deposits increased only 8 times. This is certainly an exceptional phenomenon, proving that the cooperative societies among the Ruthenians show no educative influence on their members.



EASTERN GALICIA AS A POLISH COUNTRY

Eastern Galicia is of the same importance to Poland as western Galicia.

Some illustrations :

		number of number of Poles	Polish votes
Western Galicia	2.561.000	307.305
Eastern Galicia	2.115.000	310.239

The difference between the Polish votes in both parts of the country can be explained by the smaller interest for the electoral movement in the western part of Galicia.

During the last 120 years (1794-1913) *Polish books*

were printed in western Galicia in 39, and in eastern Galicia in 34 localities.

Number of Polish books, published at

	Cracow	other localities of western Galicia	Lemberg	other localities of eastern Galicia
1794-1913..	30.599	3.221	17.510	3.112

* * *

Western Galicia furnishes *coal* and *salt*, Eastern Galicia *salt* and *mineral oil*, but the Eastern Carpathians are now practically the only area in Poland covered by *high woods*, and Galician Podolia is the only area of “*black soil*” in Poland.

What is more important [is, that Galicia affords the possibility of building canals, of extending the navigational system of the Vistula, and of connecting it with other rivers. So the Vistula may be connected with the Oder Oświecim and Ratibor, and with the Dniestr between Przemyśl and Sambor.

The importance of Galicia for Poland is also based on the fact that the Carpathian mountains, stretching in the West-Eastern direction, between the Vistula and the Pruth, form, so to speak, a natural frontier, or a natural base for a state situated to the North, as is Poland, and never for a country lying eastward, as the Russian lowlands.

Paris, March 23^a, 1919.

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North East He
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